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Life and Religion in the Middle Ages

Edited by

Flocel Sabaté

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Religious Experience, a Mirror of Medieval Society	1
Flocel Sabaté	
Building an Identity: King Desiderius, the Abbey of Leno (Brescia), and the Relics of St. Benedict (8 th Century)	15
Maria Chiara Succurro	
The Bishopric of Urgell in the Second Half of the 11 th Century: Jurisdiction, <i>Convenientiae</i> , Simony	34
Jaume Camats Campabadal	
Peculiarities of the Bishopric of Urgell in the 10 th and 11 th Centuries	49
Fernando Arnó-García de la Barrera	
The Ecclesiastical Policy of the Counts of Barcelona in a Conquered Region: The Relationship between the Counts and the Archbishopric of Tarragona in the 12 th and 13 th Centuries.....	67
Toshihiro Abe	
The Crisis of Power: Otto IV, Kings of León-Castile, the Cistercian Order.....	103
Francesco Renzi	
A Crusader without a Sword: The Sources relating to the Blessed Gerard.....	125
Giuseppe Perta	
The Military Orders in Latium	140
Nadia Bagnarini	
Saint Louis and Llull's "Plan" for the Crusade in the Western Mediterranean: <i>modo bellandi et modo convertendi</i>	163
José Higuera Rubio	

An Episcopal Monastery in Florence from the 11 th to the Early 13 th Century: San Miniato al Monte	184
Maria Pia Contessa	
Religious Orders and Cities in Medieval Tuscany (10 th to 14 th Centuries)	202
Francesco Salvestrini	
Female Monasteries in Venice: Religious Dynamics and Political Power	219
Silvia Carraro and Anna Rapetti	
The Cathedral Chapter of Barcelona and the Urban Elites at the End of the 15 th Century	234
Julia Conesa Soriano	
Compline and its Processions in the Context of Castilian Dominican Nunneries	246
Mercedes Pérez	
Devotion and Evangelisation in two Fresco Cycles in the Franciscan Convent of La Verna at the Turn of the 15 th Century	278
Nicoletta Baldini	
Women's Standing in Society and the Family as seen in an Example of Late-Gothic Secular Sculpture	293
Antònia Juan	
Crying Tears, Tearing Clothes: Expressing Grief and Rage in the Middle Ages	305
Ana del Campo	
John Hunyadi and the Late Crusade	327
Andrei Pogăciaș	
War and Peace between the Crown of Castile and Granada: Duality or Interconnectedness?	335
Yuga Kuroda	
Les enjeux du <i>Libro Verde de Aragón</i>	363
Monique Combescure	

RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND CITIES IN MEDIEVAL TUSCANY (10TH TO 14TH CENTURIES)

FRANCESCO SALVESTRINI

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI FIRENZE

Medieval Tuscany was a land of cities. Accordingly, a large number of its religious institutions and many regular communities were located in urban contexts, and it is there that they developed over the centuries. Therefore, this part of Central Italy is one of the most interesting laboratories for studying the relations between Monasticism and built-up areas. Although these connections may appear essentially antinomial, given the Benedictines' vocation for seeking the spiritual and natural desert, they are actually a topic of great interest for their religious, social and economic implications.¹ In fact, Black Benedictines, Cistercians and hermits included in regular Orders (*eremiti regulares* such as the

¹ On urban Monasticism in Medieval Italy, see: Gregorio Penco, "Un aspetto della società medievale italiana: il rapporto monasteri-città", *Benedictina*, 26 (1979), pp. 1-17; Francesca Bocchi, "Monasteri, canoniche e strutture urbane in Italia", *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215)* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1980), pp. 265-313; Gregorio Penco, "Monasteri e comuni cittadini: un tema storiografico", *Benedictina*, 43 (1996), pp. 117-133; Giancarlo Benevolo, "Aspetti e problemi della presenza monastica nella società urbana (sec. IV-XII)", *Le vie europee dei monaci. Civiltà monastiche tra Occidente e Oriente* (Verona: Il Segno, 1998), pp. 17-30; Cécile Caby, "Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale. Bilan et propositions de recherche", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 35 (1999), pp. 151-179; Rolando Dondarini, "I monaci e la città nel medioevo italiano. Tendenze e sviluppi di un rapporto tra antitesi e simbiosi", *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, 17 (2000), pp. 27-67; Francesco Salvestrini, "La più recente storiografia sul monachesimo italiano medievale (ca. 1984-2004)", *Benedictina*, 53 (2006), pp. 435-515, especially, pp. 451, 499-501; Paolo Grillo, *Monaci e città. Comuni urbani e abbazie cistercensi nell'Italia nord-occidentale (Secoli XII-XIV)* (Milan: Biblioteca Franciscana, 2008); Gregorio Penco, "Monastri e città nell'Italia del Cinquecento", *Benedictina* 55 (2008), pp. 263-296.

Carthusian and Camaldolese) often settled in the countryside and woodlands, but they kept some dependencies, churches and properties in cities and suburbs.² On the other hand, many Tuscan monasteries were built in major and minor towns and formed an important reference for the urban patriciate. Finally, most of the female cloisters established during the 13th and 14th centuries were in urban settlements.³

In the Early Middle Ages (6th to 11th centuries), Benedictine Monasticism, especially following the Cluniac Reform, had a limited presence in Tuscany.⁴ Apart from the important monasteries of Abbadia San Salvatore on Monte Amiata (in the south-east part of the region) – built during the first half of the 8th century on a mountain near the border of the Church lands (*Patrimonum Sancti Petri in Tuscia*)⁵ – and Sant’Antimo, near Siena,⁶ some of the most important and richest foundations of the late Lombard and Carolingian periods were established

² Francesco Salvestrini, “Proprietà della terra e dinamismo del mercato fondiario nel basso Valdarno superiore (seconda metà dell’XI-prima metà del XIII secolo). Riflessi di un’evoluzione politica e sociale”, *Lontano dalle città. Il Valdarno di Sopra nei secoli XII-XIII*, ed. by Giuliano Pinto and P. Pirillo (Rome: Viella, 2005), pp. 141-189; Francesco Salvestrini, “I Cistercensi nella Tuscia del secolo XIII. Le modalità di un inizio, le ragioni di un ritardo”, *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo*, 110 (2008), pp. 197-236; Francesco Salvestrini, “La proprietà fondiaria dei grandi enti ecclesiastici nella Tuscia dei secoli XI-XV. Spunti di riflessione, tentativi di interpretazione”, *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 62 (2008), pp. 377-412; Francesco Salvestrini, “Forme della presenza benedettina nelle città comunali italiane: gli insediamenti vallombrosani a Firenze tra XI e XV secolo”, *Espaces monastiques et espaces urbains de l’Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Cécile Caby, forthcoming in *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome*. For a general repertoire see: *Histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au Moyen Âge. Guide de recherche et documents*, ed. by André Vauchez and Cécile Caby (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

³ Piero Roselli and Osanna Fantozzi Micali, *Itinerari della memoria. Badie, conventi e monasteri della Toscana (province di Firenze, Pisa, Pistoia, Siena)* (Florence: Alinea, 1987); *La soppressione degli enti ecclesiastici in Toscana. Secoli XVIII-XIX. Censimento dei conventi e dei monasteri soppressi in età leopoldina*, ed. by Anna Benvenuti (Florence: Regione Toscana, 2008).

⁴ See: *L’Italia nel quadro dell’espansione europea del monachesimo cluniacense*, ed. by Cinzio Violante, Amleto Spicciari and Giovanni Spinelli (Cesena: Centro Storico Benedettino italiano, 1985).

⁵ Wilhelm Kurze, *Monasteri e nobiltà nel Senese e nella Toscana medievale. Studi diplomatici, archeologici, genealogici, giuridici e sociali* (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1989), pp. 339-356.

⁶ *Nuove ricerche su Sant’Antimo*, ed. by Adriano Peroni and Grazia Tucci (Florence: Alinea, 2008).

in or around cities, such as; Lucca (monastery of San Frediano, ca. 680),⁷ Siena (monastery of Sant'Eugenio, early 8th century),⁸ and Pistoia (monastery of San Bartolomeo, first half of the 8th century).⁹

From the 9th to the 10th century, urban noblemen and landlords founded several monasteries as private settlements (*Eigenklöster*). However, at the time of the Marquis Hugh of Tuscia (953/54-1001) the erection or endowment of Benedictine communities assumed institutional and eminently 'public' connotations, which particularly marked the urban environment. This is the case of the so-called Badia Fiorentina (Santa Maria, in Florence), built by the Marchional family in 978 in the heart of the city, and chosen by the lord of the region as his burial place.¹⁰

Monasticism in Tuscany acquired new importance during the early decades of the 11th century, at the time of the so called 'Gregorian' reform of the Church, when the region became the centre of significant phenomena, like the birth of religious movements such as the Camaldolese and the Vallumbrosan orders. Tuscany gave the Church the reformist popes Nicholas II (1058-61) and Alexander II (1061-73),¹¹ and felt the actions of bishops who early on promoted communal life for the clergy in

⁷ *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. by Luigi Schiaparelli (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1929), I, pp. 16-19 (doc. n° 7).

⁸ The first community in Italy for which a benefactor, in 730, wrote that monks had to be ruled by Saint Benedict's *Regula* (*Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*), p. 166 (doc. n° 50).

⁹ Mario Bruschi, *Il complesso abbaziale di S. Bartolomeo in Pistoia* (Pistoia: ECOP, 1981); Francesco Salvestrini, "Gli Ordini religiosi a Pistoia in età precomunale e comunale", *La Pistoia comunale nel contesto toscano ed europeo (secoli XIII-XIV)*, ed. by Piero Gualtieri (Pistoia: Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria, 2008), pp. 241-270, especially, pp. 244-245. On the period see: M. De Jong and P. Erhart, "Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi", *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno. Saggi*, ed. by Carlo Bertelli and Gian Pietro Brogiolo (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 105-127; Mariano dell'Omo, *Storia del monachesimo occidentale dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea. Il carisma di san Benedetto tra VI e XX secolo* (Milan: Jaca Book, 2011), pp. 62-84.

¹⁰ *Le carte del monastero di S. Maria di Firenze (Badia)*, I (sec. X-XI), ed. by Luigi Schiaparelli, reprint by Francesco Baldasseroni and Raffaele Ciasca (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1990), pp. 10-17 (doc. n° 5); Ernesto Sestan, Maurilio Adriani and Alessandro Guidotti, *La Badia fiorentina* (Florence: Becocchi, 1982).

¹¹ Annamaria Ambrosioni, "Niccolò II", *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008), II, pp. 172-178; Cinzio Violante, *Alessandro II*, *ivi*, pp. 178-185; Amleto Spicciari, *Benefici livelli feudali. Intreccio di rapporti tra chierici e laici nella Tuscia medioevale. La creazione di una società politica* (Pisa: ETS, 1996), pp. 125-138.

Lucca, Pistoia and Siena, to give just a few examples.¹² Tuscany was the birthplace of the hermitic obedience of Camaldoli and its dependant foundations, as well as the coenobitic Order of Vallombrosa founded by John Gualberto, who led the fight against Simony, Nicolaitism and corruption among the clergy in Florence. These experiences of 'new' Monasticism, which initially claimed territories in the dioceses of Florence, Fiesole and Arezzo, placed *Tuscia* as the vanguard of Church reformation, in close connection with *Pataria* riots that broke out in Lombardy.¹³ During this peculiar period, irregular hermits also flourished

¹² Martino Giusti, "Notizie sulle canoniche lucchesi", *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, 2 vols. (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1962), I, pp. 434-454; Yoram Milo, "From Imperial Hegemony to the Commune: Reform in Pistoia's Cathedral Chapter and its Political Impact", *Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche della Toscana Medioevale* (Galatina: Congedo, 1980), pp. 87-107; Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, "Riforma monastica e movimenti religiosi a Lucca alla fine del secolo XI", *Lucca, il Volto Santo e la civiltà medioevale* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1984), pp. 71-94; Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, "Il Capitolo di S. Martino e la riforma canonica nella seconda metà del sec. XI", *Sant'Anselmo vescovo di Lucca (1073-1086) nel quadro delle trasformazioni sociali e della riforma ecclesiastica*, ed. by Cinzio Violante (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1992), pp. 51-64; Raffaele Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina a Lucca da Anselmo II (†1086) a Roberto (†1225)* (Lucca: Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1996); Michele Pellegrini, *Chiesa e città, Uomini, comunità e istituzioni nella società senese del XII e XIII secolo* (Rome: Herder, 2004), p. 7; *Il patrimonio documentario della chiesa di Lucca. Prospettive di ricerca*, ed. by Sergio Pagano and Pierantonio Piatti (Florence: Sismel, 2010).

¹³ Giovanni Miccoli, *Pietro Igneo. Studi sull'età gregoriana* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1960); Kurze, *Monasteri e nobiltà nel Senese e nella Toscana medievale. Studi diplomatici, archeologici, genealogici, giuridici e sociali*, pp. 243-274; Paolo Golinelli, "Indiscreta Sanctitas". *Studi sui rapporti tra culti, poteri e società nel pieno Medioevo* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988), pp. 157-191; Mauro Ronzani, "Il monachesimo toscano del secolo XI: note storiografiche e proposte di ricerca", *Guido d'Arezzo monaco pomposiano*, ed. by Angelo Rusconi (Florence: Olschki, 2000), pp. 21-53; Nicolangelo d'Acunto, "Il monachesimo nel regno italico al tempo di Ottone III tra protagonismo spirituale e contesti istituzionali: alcune esperienze a confronto", *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII-X)*, ed. by Giovanni Spinelli (Cesena: Centro Storico Benedettino Italiano, 2006), pp. 273-294, especially, pp. 282-285 and 288-292; Francesco Salvestrini, "Disciplina caritatis". *Il monachesimo vallombrosano tra medioevo e prima età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2008), pp. 9-11 and 184-186; Francesco Salvestrini, "Il monachesimo vallombrosano in Lombardia. Storia di una presenza e di una plurisecolare interazione", *I Vallombrosani in Lombardia (XI-XVIII secolo)*, ed. by Francesco Salvestrini (Milan-Lecco: Regione Lombardia, 2011), pp. 3-51,

in cities. A case was Teuzzzone, a special example of an urban anchorite living in a cell at the Badia Fiorentina.¹⁴

To return to the Coenobites, we can add that representatives of regular communities rarely respected their vow of stability (*stabilitas loci*). Monks often moved from their cloisters to rural settlements or towns, both for religious and commercial reasons.¹⁵ In fact, their monasteries provided the markets of Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia, Florence, Siena, Volterra and other towns with important supplies; monks often took on the duties of priests and preachers in secular churches.¹⁶

As we noted earlier, the relations between towns and nunneries deserve special mention. Nuns, in fact, needed priests for the divine office, and they claimed the protection due to unmarried women. Furthermore, their conventual communities always enjoyed both the support of the most eminent citizens and the protection of kith and kin. Families used to place their young daughters or widows in cloisters, knowing that they could interfere to a greater extent in nunneries' affairs – since female communities were subject to episcopal jurisdiction – than in powerful and independent male congregations. For centuries, copying manuscripts, manufacturing goods and charitable works underscored the discreet but important

especially, pp. 5-23. See also: Enrico Faini, *Firenze nell'età romanica (1000-1211). L'espansione urbana, lo sviluppo istituzionale, il rapporto con il territorio* (Florence: Olschki, 2010), pp. 238-243.

¹⁴ Kathleen Grace Cushing, "Of *Locustae* and Dangerous Men: Peter Damian, the Vallombrosans, and Eleventh-century Reform", *Church History*, 74 (2005), pp. 740-757; Umberto Longo, "Pier Damiani versus Teuzzzone: due concezioni sull'eremitismo a confronto", *Monaci, ebrei, santi. Studi per Sofia Boesch Gajano*, ed. by Antonio Volpato (Rome: Viella, 2008), pp. 63-77.

¹⁵ On this question see: Mariano dell'Omo, "La 'stabilitas loci' benedettina nella storia monastica (dall'alto medioevo all'età contemporanea)", *La stabilità nella vita monastica*, ed. by Adalberto Piovano, Lorenzo Sena and Mariano Dell'Omo (Noci: Le Scale, 2009), pp. 119-172.

¹⁶ Gabriella Piccinni, "*Seminare, fruttare, raccogliere*". *Mezzadri e salariati sulle terre di Monte Oliveto Maggiore (1374-1430)* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1982); Alberto Maria Onori, *L'Abbazia di San Salvatore a Sesto e il Lago di Bientina. Una signoria ecclesiastica, 1250/1300* (Florence: Salimbeni, 1984), pp. 55-68; Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Le riforme monastiche e la 'vita apostolica'", *Storia dell'Italia religiosa. I. L'Antichità e il Medioevo*, ed. by André Vauchez (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1993), pp. 271-291, especially, pp. 275, 282-285; Francesco Salvestrini, *Santa Maria di Vallombrosa. Patrimonio e vita economica di un grande monastero medievale* (Florence: Olschki, 1998), pp. 242-261.

contribution these religious women made to the development of urban centres.¹⁷

Some scholars point out that the congregational structure of the Vallumbrosan Order anticipated and influenced the first definition of the Cistercian experience, for example in the structure of the General Chapter of abbots, the role of lay brothers (*conversi*), and the disciplinary visitations of monasteries.¹⁸ It is not easy to prove this assumption through contemporary sources. It seems certain, instead, that the presence of indigenous traditions of the Benedictine reformation (that is Vallumbrosans, Camaldolese, and hermits living in less populated southern parts of the region, like the Guglielmites of Maremma)¹⁹ significantly slowed the spread of the Cistercians within the region's borders during the 12th century.²⁰ It should be noted, in fact, that the first permanent settlement of White Monks in *Tuscia* – that is the foundation of San Galgano, in the countryside near Siena (1201-03) – dates from the beginning of the 13th century. In any case, even the brothers of St. Bernard, although mainly located in rural areas, quickly forged relations with the urban environment, as borne out by the monks of San Galgano, who became chamberlains, officers and superintendents of public works for the municipality of Siena; or by the monks of Badia a Settimo (daughter-abbey of San Galgano) in similar relations with the nearby city of Florence.²¹ The Carthusians,

¹⁷ See: Anna Benvenuti, *'In castro poenitentiae'. Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale* (Rome: Herder, 1990), pp. 119-140 and 531-634; Francesco Salvestrini, "'Furti' di identità e ambigue semantizzazioni agiografiche. Verdiana da Castelfiorentino santa vallombrosana", *Hagiologica. Studi per Réginald Grégoire*, ed. by Alessandra Bartolomei Romagnoli, Ugo Paoli and Pierantonio Piatti, forthcoming.

¹⁸ On the question see: Salvestrini, "Disciplina caritatis", pp. 159-160 and 251-257.

¹⁹ On which, Salvestrini, "Disciplina caritatis"; Cécile Caby, *De l'éremitisme rural au monachisme urbain. Les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome, 1999); Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmitenordens* (Cologne-Graz: Böhlau, 1962); Odile Redon, "À la recherche en Maremma du saint ermite Guillaume", *Ermîtes de France et d'Italie*, ed. by André Vauchez (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2003), pp. 299-314. On Tuscan hermitism see also: *Santità ed eremitismo nella Toscana medievale*, ed. by Alessandra Gianni (Siena: Cantagalli, 2000); Anna Benvenuti, "La civiltà urbana", *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (Roma: Viella, 2005), pp. 157-221, especially, pp. 172-173.

²⁰ Salvestrini, "I Cistercensi nella Tuscia del secolo XIII. Le modalità di un inizio, le ragioni di un ritardo".

²¹ Paolo Pirillo, "Il fiume come investimento: i mulini e i porti sull'Arno della Badia a Settimo (secc. XIII-XIV)", *Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura*, 29 (1989),

whose development close to Tuscan cities (Pisa, Florence, Lucca and Siena) dates back to the 14th century – the period that saw the growth of the Tuscan Monasticism of the Olivetans – also followed a similar pattern.²²

However, at the beginning of the 13th century, the blurring of memories connected to the fight for Church reforms, and the relatively minor role the Cistercians played in the development of religious consciousness among Tuscany's citizens – and particularly the lower classes – opened the way for a massive penetration of the latest Benedictine reforms²³ and Mendicant Orders in all the main cities and many smaller towns.²⁴ Religious life in the cities and countryside of Tuscany during the

pp. 19-43; Paolo Pirillo, "I Cistercensi e il Comune di Firenze (secoli XIII-XIV)", *Studi Storici*, 40 (1999), pp. 395-405; Frances Andrews, "Monastic Observance and Communal Life: Siena and the Employment of Religious", *Pope, Church and City. Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. by Frances Andrews, Christoph Egger and Constance M. Rousseau (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 357-383.

²² Pietro Lazzarini, *La Certosa di Farneta* (Lucca: S. Marco, 1975); Maria Adriana Giusti and Maria Teresa Lazzarini, *La Certosa di Pisa a Calci* (Pisa: Pacini, 1993); Caterina Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze (dalle origini alla metà del XVI secolo)*, 2 vols. (Florence and Salzburg: ABC, 1984); Giovanni Leoncini, *Le grange della Certosa di Firenze* (Florence: Salimbeni, 1991); Giorgio Picasso, *Tra umanesimo e 'Devotio'. Studi di storia monastica raccolti per il 50° di professione dell'Autore*, ed. by Giancarlo Andenna, Giuseppe Motta and Mauro Tagliabue (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1999); Giorgio Picasso, "La congregazione di Monte Oliveto nell' 'Ordo Sancti Benedicti'", *Il monachesimo italiano nel secolo della grande crisi*, ed. by Giorgio Picasso and Mauro Tagliabue (Cesena: Centro Storico Benedettino Italiano, 2004), pp. 61-77; Valerio Cattana, *Momenti di storia e spiritualità olivetana (secoli XIV-XX)*, ed. by Mauro Tagliabue (Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 2007), pp. 101-128 and 139-150.

²³ As, for example, in Florence, the *Umiliati*, 1251, and the *Silvestrini*, 1299: Isabella Gagliardi, "Firenze e gli eredi spirituali di Silvestro Guzzolini: tracce per una storia dell'insediamento silvestrino di San Marco (1299-1436)", *Silvestro Guzzolini e la sua congregazione monastica*, ed. by Ugo Paoli (Fabriano: Bibliotheca Montisfani, 2001), pp. 169-201, especially p. 188; Anna Benvenuti, "Una storia in sordina: gli Umiliati a Firenze", *"Ubi neque aerugo neque tineae demolitur". Studi in onore di Luigi Pellegrini per i suoi settanta anni*, ed. by Maria Grazia Del Fuoco (Naples: Liguori, 2006), pp. 41-52.

²⁴ Luigi Pellegrini, *Insediamenti francescani nell'Italia del Duecento* (Rome: Laurentianum, 1984), p. 114; *La presenza francescana nella Toscana del '200* (Florence: Convento di S. Francesco, 1990); Anna Benvenuti, "Ordini mendicanti in Toscana (secc. XIII-XV): un problema ancora aperto", *Gli Ordini Mendicanti a Pistoia (secc. XIII-XV)*, ed. by Renzo Nelli (Pistoia: Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria, 2001), pp. 1-29; André Vauchez, *Francesco d'Assisi e gli Ordini*

Communal period was profoundly influenced by the presence of the two major *familiae* (the Franciscans and the Dominicans), the emergence and wider diffusion of local experiences, like those of the Servite Friars (*Ordo Servorum Beatae Mariae Virginis*),²⁵ the arrival of Carmelites and the *Saccati* (a French branch of the Augustinian obedience born around 1248 and suppressed in 1274),²⁶ and finally, the hermitical communities that developed in Central Italy and which gave rise to the Augustinian Order (*Ordo Eremitarum sancti Augustini*) in 1256.²⁷

Mendicant *religiosi novi* were active preachers.²⁸ We can mention the example of the Dominican Peter the Martyr, who led the struggle against the Cathars in Florence during the 1240s.²⁹ The friars' homiletics also played an important role in the defence of orthodoxy and in the struggle against social 'plagues' such as usury or sexual deviations, which, in the opinion of religious men, were produced by urban development.³⁰

mendicanti (Assisi: Ed. Porziuncola, 2005), pp. 167-88; Salvestrini, "Gli Ordini religiosi a Pistoia in età precomunale e comunale", pp. 256-270.

²⁵ On which Franco Andrea dal Pino, *I frati Servi di S. Maria dalle origini all'approvazione (1233 ca.-1304)* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1972); *L'Ordine dei Servi di Maria nel primo secolo di vita* (Florence: Convento della SS. Annunziata, 1988); Andrea dal Pino, *Spazi e figure lungo la storia dei Servi di Santa Maria (secoli XIII-XX)* (Rome: Herder, 1997), pp. 3-157.

²⁶ Richard W. Emery, "The Friars of the Sack", *Speculum*, 18 (1943), pp. 323-334; Robert I. Burns, "Fratelli della Penitenza di Gesù Cristo", *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. by Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca (Roma: Ed. Paoline, 1980), VI, coll. 1398-1403.

²⁷ Anna Benvenuti, Isabella Gagliardi and Pierantonio Piatti, "Il contributo degli eremiti della Tuscia («I Toscani») allo sviluppo dell'Ordine di S. Agostino", *Analecta Augustiniana*, 70 (2007), pp. 549-570.

²⁸ See, for an introduction: Roberto Rusconi, *Predicazione e vita religiosa nella società italiana da Carlo Magno alla controriforma* (Rome: Loescher, 1981), pp. 114-124.

²⁹ See, for the cult of the saint: Grado Giovanni Merlo, "Pietro da Verona - S. Pietro martire. Difficoltà e proposte per lo studio di un inquisitore beatificato", *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. by Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucia Sebastiani (L'Aquila-Rome: Japadre, 1984), pp. 471-488.

³⁰ See: Carlo Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Firenze: Olschki, 1975); Carlo Delcorno, "Predicazione volgare e volgarizzamenti", *Les Ordres Mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220-v. 1350), Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge-Temps modernes*, 89 (1977), II, pp. 679-689; Giulia Barone, "L'Ordine dei Predicatori e le città. Teologia e politica nel pensiero e nell'azione dei Predicatori", *ivi*, pp. 609-618; Anna Benvenuti, "I culti patronali tra memoria ecclesiastica e costruzione dell'identità civica: l'esempio di Firenze", *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et*

As is widely known, Mendicants largely influenced new models of holiness.³¹ They organised lay people in a capillary confraternal system (*laudesi*, *disciplinati*, and finally Third Orders),³² with special attention paid to forms of female devotion and religious experiences, such as the voluntary seclusion of women.³³ Friars promoted the cult of the Passion of Christ, laying the basis for the movement of *Flagellanti*.³⁴ They often joined or replaced Cistercians or Vallumbrosans in public offices in Communal cities, decisively influencing town planning and architecture.³⁵

Islam), ed. by André Vauchez (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1995), pp. 99-118, especially, p. 114.

³¹ See: André Vauchez, *Esperienze religiose nel Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2003), pp. 15-50; André Vauchez, "La commune de Sienne, les Ordres Mendians et le culte des saints. Histoire et enseignement d'une crise (novembre 1328-avril 1329)", *Les Ordres Mendians et la ville en Italie centrale* (v. 1220-v. 1350), pp. 757-767; Vauchez, *Francesco d'Assisi e gli Ordini mendicanti*, pp. 195-249.

³² Mariano da Firenze, *Il Trattato del Terz'Ordine o vero «Libro come Santo Francesco istituì et ordinò el Tertio Ordine de Frati et Sore di Penitentia et della dignità et perfezione o vero Sanctità Sua*, ed. by Massimo D. Papi, *Analecta Tertii Ordinis Regularis Sancti Francisci*, 18 (1985), pp. 263-588; Mariano d'Alatri, "Aetas poenitentialis". *L'antico Ordine francescano della penitenza* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1993). For Florence, see Ronald F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Chicago and London: at the University Press, 1994); Arnaldo d'Addario, "Le confraternite di Santa Croce nel tessuto della città", *Santa Croce nel solco della storia*, ed. by Massimiliano G. Rosito (Florence: Città di Vita, 1996), pp. 135-150. On the countryside, Charles M. de la Roncière, "La place des confréries dans l'encadrement religieux du contado florentin: l'exemple de la Val d'Elsa", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 85 (1973), pp. 1 and 31-77.

³³ Giovanna Casagrande, "Il fenomeno della reclusione volontaria nei secoli del basso Medioevo", *Benedictina*, 35 (1988), pp. 475-507; Giovanna Casagrande, "Forme di vita religiosa femminile solitaria in Italia centrale", *Eremitismo nel francescanesimo medievale* (Naples-Assisi-Perugia: Centro di Studi Francescani, 1991), pp. 51-94; Benvenuti, "In castro poenitentiae". *Sanità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 305-402; Benvenuti, "Ordini mendicanti in Toscana (secc. XIII-XV): un problema ancora aperto", pp. 21-26; Benvenuti, "La civiltà urbana", pp. 173-177.

³⁴ Giovanna Casagrande, "Penitenti e Disciplinati a Perugia e loro rapporti con gli Ordini Mendicanti", *Les Ordres Mendians*, pp. 711-721; Mauro Ronzani, "Penitenti e Ordini Mendicanti a Pisa sino all'inizio del Trecento", *ivi*, pp. 733-741.

³⁵ For an introduction, see: Luigi Pellegrini, "Gli insediamenti degli Ordini mendicanti e la loro tipologia. Considerazioni metodologiche e piste di ricerca",

Settlements of these *religiones* were located mostly in the suburbs – or the so-called *burgi* – which were the areas that underwent rapid and intense population growth, due mainly to migration from the countryside. Friars often re-used existing buildings (churches, oratories, hospitals). Later they moved to new monasteries built with the support of municipal authorities and the wealthiest citizens.³⁶

Mendicants owed their success to their pastoral activities targeting all social ranks, and to their close relations with ruling classes. From the middle of the 13th century, new urban regimes of the *Populus* (that is governments of merchants and entrepreneurs) afforded friars special protection.³⁷ At the same time, in Tuscany as well, religious brothers became flexible tools in the hands of the Apostolic See, since they were less constricted by the bonds that the secular clergy (Bishops and, especially, cathedral Chapters) had with members of the leading families who had founded the Consular rule of urban Communes during the 12th century.³⁸

Les Ordres Mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220-v. 1350), pp. 563-573; Mario Sanfilippo, "Il convento e la città: nuova definizione di un tema", *Lo spazio dell'umiltà. Atti del Convegno di studi sull'edilizia dell'Ordine dei Minori* (Rome: Centenari, 1984), pp. 327-341; André Vauchez, "Les Ordres mendiants et la reconquête religieuse de la société urbaine", *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours. V. Apogée de la Papauté et expansion de la Chrétienté (1054-1274)*, ed. by André Vauchez (Paris: Desclée, 1993), pp. 767-793. For a comparison between Benedictines and Mendicants, see: Luigi Pellegrini, "Monachesimo e Ordini mendicanti", *Il monachesimo italiano nell'età comunale*, ed. by Francesco G.B. Trolese (Cesena: Centro Storico Benedettino Italiano, 1998), pp. 665-694. On Tuscany: Roberto Lunardi, *Arte e storia in Santa Maria Novella* (Florence: Salani, 1983); Wilhelm Kurze, "Monasteri e Comuni in Toscana", *Il monachesimo italiano nell'età comunale*, pp. 507-528.

³⁶ See Angiola Maria Romanini, "L'architettura degli ordini mendicanti: nuove prospettive di interpretazione", *Storia della città*, 9 (1978), pp. 5-15; Renato Bonelli, *Francesco d'Assisi. Chiese e conventi* (Milan: Electa, 1982); *Gli ordini mendicanti e la città. Aspetti architettonici, sociali e politici*, ed. by Joselita Raspi Serra (Milan: Guerini Studio, 1990); Giacomo Todeschini, "Ordini mendicanti e coscienza cittadina", *Les Ordres Mendiants et la ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220-v. 1350)*, pp. 657-666.

³⁷ See, for Tuscany: Brunetto Quilici, "La Chiesa di Firenze dal governo del 'Primo Popolo' alla restaurazione guelfa", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 127 (1969), pp. 265-337, especially, pp. 296-313; Benvenuti, *'In castro poenitentiae'. Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*.

³⁸ Benvenuti, *'In castro poenitentiae'. Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 17-57.

The religious Orders that attained Papal legitimacy at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and survived the rationalisation of the Council of Lyon in 1274 – the assembly that obliterated many pauperistic-inspired *oboedientiae*³⁹ – often outclassed, not without strong opposition, the Church hierarchy in the competition for the devotion of the faithful. This phenomenon, obviously, was not limited to Tuscany. However this land was, as we have said, one of the most densely urbanised areas in Late Medieval Italy and Europe, and its dynamic, rich and socially stratified cities were always in need of new spiritual answers. Tuscany, therefore, was an ideal land for the expansion of friars and their confraternities who, during approximately 1220 to 1280, came to occupy many physical places which had, up until then, been more or less the exclusive domains of Benedictine monks.

Let us now take a brief look at the chronology. In Florence, the *Fratres de Poenitentia* of St. Francis of Assisi that comprised some lay devotees who later joined together in the Order of Minoritic Tertiary, gathered in an as-yet unformalised way at the Hospital of San Gallo (still outside the city walls) in 1209-18 (the settlement was formalised in 1218).⁴⁰ In 1228, friars were already in the basilica of Santa Croce, which became the most important Minoritic settlement in 13th century Italy.⁴¹ Dominicans arrived from Bologna in 1219 and settled first on the east, then the west side of the city, at the Hospital of San Pancrazio. Later (1221), with the favour of Pope Gregory IX, they gathered in the final settlement of Santa Maria *inter vineas*, which became Santa Maria Novella.⁴² Augustinians came to San Matteo, on the hill of Arcetri, during the first half of the century, and in 1250 settled at Santo Spirito, in the new

³⁹ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by Giuseppe Alberigo, Giuseppe L. Dossetti, Perikles-P. Joannou, Claudio Leonardi, Paolo Prodi, cons. and Hubert Jedin (Bologna: Dehoniane, 1991), 1215: *Constitutio*, 13, p. 242; 1274, *Constitutio*, 23, pp. 326-327.

⁴⁰ Raoul Manselli, "Bernardo da Quintavalle", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1967), IX, p. 288; Anna Benvenuti, "L'insediamento francescano a Firenze: le origini", *La presenza francescana nella Toscana del '200* (Florence: Comunità Francescana, 1992), pp. 81-100, especially, pp. 89-92.

⁴¹ Pellegrini, *Insediamenti francescani nell'Italia del Duecento*, p. 175.

⁴² Anna Benvenuti, *Pastori di popolo. Storie e leggende di vescovi e di città nell'Italia medievale* (Florence: Arnaud, 1988), pp. 26, 37 and 77, ff., 93. See also, for the female branch: Daniela Mignani Galli, "Notizie storiche", *La chiesa di S. Jacopo a Ripoli* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1977), pp. 19-35.

city district of *Oltrarno*.⁴³ The same year marked the definitive settlement of the *Serviti* at Santa Maria in Cafaggio (now known as Santissima Annunziata).⁴⁴ The *Saccati* arrived at Sant'Egidio in 1259, and finally, in 1268, the Carmelites came to Santa Maria del Carmine.⁴⁵ All the religious communities, as we have said, first reached the suburbs and then moved 'downtown', within the city walls. In Florence, they played an important role in city planning and administration. The urban structure, in fact, was divided into four districts or quarters in 1343. The first identified the old city and had its centre in the Baptistry (San Giovanni). The other three districts referred to the main settlements of the Mendicants: Santa Croce (Franciscan), Santa Maria Novella (Dominican), Santo Spirito (Augustinian).

Comparing the Florentine situation with that of other Tuscan cities in relation to the major regular families, we can see that from 1228 (the year St. Francis was canonised) to 1230, the *religio fratrum Minorum* settled in Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo, Lucca, Prato, in Valdinievole, in the town of Figline Valdarno, in the centres of Valdelsa and in Valdichiana.⁴⁶ On the other

⁴³ Alberto Busignani and Raffaello Bencini, *Le chiese di Firenze. Quartiere di Santo Spirito* (Florence: Sansoni, 1974), pp. 29-76.

⁴⁴ The tradition of the miraculous acheropite picture of the Virgin in the settlement that later took the name of Santissima Annunziata dates back to 1252. See: Eugenio Casolini, *Una icona di famiglia. Nuovi contributi di storia e d'arte sulla SS. Annunziata di Firenze* (Florence: Polistampa, 1998), pp. 23-25.

⁴⁵ See: Benvenuti, 'In castro poenitentiae'. *Santità e società femminile nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 3-16; Prisca Giovannini and Sergio Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze: caratteri e documenti* (Florence: Tipografia Nazionale, 1981), p. 32.

⁴⁶ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 159; Pellegrini, *Insedimenti francescani nell'Italia del Duecento*, pp. 63-79 and 175-182; and: Renato Piattoli, "L'atto di fondazione del S. Francesco di Prato", *Studi Francescani*, 29 (1932), I, pp. 62-68, especially, pp. 66-68; Francesco Gurrieri, *La fabbrica del San Francesco in Prato* (Prato: Azienda Autonoma di Turismo, 1968); *Presenza dei Francescani in Valdinievole*, ed. by Ottaviano Giovannetti and Giuseppe Tollapi (Pescia: Benedetti, 1984); Maria Grazia Nico Ottaviani, *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo nel territorio aretino (secc. XIII-XIV)* (Arezzo: Biblioteca della città, 1993); S. Francesco. *La chiesa e il convento in Pistoia*, ed. by Lucia Gai (Pisa-Pistoia: Pacini, 1993); Laura Borelli, *Il francescanesimo femminile a Lucca nei secoli XIII e XIV. Il monastero di Gattaiaola* (Lucca: Accademia Lucchese di Scienze Lettere e Arti, 1999); *Gli Ordini mendicanti in Val d'Elsa* (Castelfiorentino: Società Storica della Valdelsa, 1999); Mauro Ronzani, "La chiesa e il convento di S. Francesco nella Pisa del Duecento", *Il francescanesimo a Pisa (secoli XIII-XIV) e la missione del beato Agnello in Inghilterra a Canterbury e Cambridge (1224-1236)*, ed. by Ottavio Banti and Marina Soriani Innocenti (Pisa: Felici, 2003), pp. 31-45, especially, pp. 31-33; Salvestrini, "Gli Ordini

hand, the final settlements of Franciscans in Siena and Cortona date from 1236 and 1240-45 respectively.⁴⁷

The Dominicans began building their great Siennese basilica in 1226. They arrived in Pistoia at the end of the 1240s, in Pisa more or less ten years later, and at San Gimignano in 1278. In Arezzo, they built their final *conventus* in 1275, and consecrated their great church of San Romano in Lucca in 1281.⁴⁸ Carmelite hermits were present in Pisa from 1248 – the year after the insertion of the Order in the Mendicant family – and in Siena from 1256.⁴⁹

Towards the middle of the 13th century, Tuscany had more than fifty sites collected in seven *custodiae* of Minor friars.⁵⁰ Each *custodia* had a Chapter that elected a president (*custos*) and brought together the governors of monasteries, called guardian fathers. The Dominican friars had seven monasteries, located more or less in the same cities that served as capitals of the Franciscan *custodiae*.

Considering that Dominic de Guzmán had died in 1221 and Francis of Assisi in 1226, it is easy to confirm the precocity of their Orders' settlements in Tuscany during the transition from a deliberate initial uncertainty, when *fraternitas* was more important for friars than regular *vita communis*, to the season of the great, monumental monasteries.⁵¹

Anyway, in addition to large regular families, Tuscan cities were settled by lesser known but no less important Orders, both local and

religiosi a Pistoia in età precomunale e comunale”, pp. 257-261; Gabriele Donati, “Arte e architettura in San Francesco di Lucca fino alle soglie del Cinquecento (con la vera storia della Cappella Guinigi)”, *Il complesso conventuale di San Francesco in Lucca. Studi e materiali*, ed. by Maria Teresa Filieri and Giulio Ciampoltrini (Lucca: Cassa di Risparmio, 2009), pp. 13-133, especially, pp. 20-24.

⁴⁷ Vittorio Lusini, *Storia della basilica di S. Francesco in Siena* (Siena: San Bernardino, 1894); *San Francesco e Siena*, ed. by Piero Misciattelli and Aldo Lusini (Siena: La Diana, 1927); G. Inga, “Gli insediamenti mendicanti a Cortona”, *Storia della città*, 9 (1978), pp. 44-55, especially, pp. 44 and 47-52.

⁴⁸ Innocenzo Taurisano, *I Domenicani in Lucca* (Lucca: Baroni, 1914); Italo Moretti, “Insediamenti e architettura dei mendicanti in Val d’Elsa”, *Gli Ordini mendicanti in Val d’Elsa*, pp. 293-337, especially, p. 336; Salvestrini, “Gli Ordini religiosi a Pistoia in età precomunale e comunale”, pp. 262-263.

⁴⁹ Giovannini and Vitolo, *Il Convento del Carmine di Firenze: caratteri e documentix*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ Camillo Bensi and Lorenzo Lazzeri, *I 51 conventi dei frati minori in Toscana* (Florence: Provincia Toscana di San Francesco Stimmatizzato, 1985).

⁵¹ Charles M. de la Roncière, “L’influence des Franciscains dans la campagne de Florence au XIV^e siècle (1280-1360)”, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge-Temps Modernes*, 87 (1975), pp. 27-103, especially, pp. 46-51.

foreign. Among those already mentioned are the *Umiliati*, religious craftsmen of Benedictine, then Mendicant connotation.⁵² They, perhaps more than any other regular family, favoured an encounter between religious life and work; their work that was not so much (or not only) in the fields, in line with the Benedictine tradition, but rather a proto-industrial manufacturing.⁵³

Moreover, at the end of the Middle Ages, the new Orders were able to accommodate the requests of craftsmen, merchants and entrepreneurs.⁵⁴ For example, through the lay Order of *Gesuati* from Siena, they restored the lawfulness of honest trades, and the possibility for religious penitents to work, produce goods and sell them to the public, bringing the activities that substantiated the development of Communal cities into line with the holy life.⁵⁵

We have said that in the 13th century Tuscan Mendicants were privileged compared to Cistercians. However, the Florentine case shows that the first mode of settlement was similar for all the *religiones*. In the city, the initial support of bishops Ardingo Foraboschi (1231-49) and Giovanni Mangiadori (1252-74) was a determining factor for official recognition of the *Serviti* (1247), the consolidation of the Dominican settlement, the advent of the *Umiliati* and the arrival of the Cistercians on the outskirts of Florence.⁵⁶

⁵² *Sulle tracce degli Umiliati*, ed. by Maria Pia Alberzoni, Annamaria Ambrosioni and Alfredo Lucioni (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1997); Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵³ Luigi Zaroni, *Gli Umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia, l'industria della lana ed i Comuni nei secoli XII e XIII, sulla scorta di documenti inediti* (Milan: Hoepli, 1911).

⁵⁴ Giacomo Todeschini, *I mercanti e il tempio. La società cristiana e il circolo virtuoso della ricchezza fra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), pp. 113-131; *L'economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2004).

⁵⁵ Giovan Battista Uccelli, *Il convento di S. Giusto alle Mura e i Gesuati* (Florence: Tipografia delle Murate, 1865), pp. 9-81; Isabella Gagliardi and Francesco Salvestrini, "L'insediamento dei Gesuati a Pistoia tra Medioevo e prima età moderna", *Gli Ordini Mendicanti a Pistoia (secc. XIII-XV)*, pp. 141-203; Isabella Gagliardi, *I 'pauperes yesuati' tra esperienze religiose e conflitti istituzionali* (Rome: Herder, 2004).

⁵⁶ Benvenuti, *Pastori di popolo. Storie e leggende di vescovi e di città nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 21; Francesco Salvestrini, "Mangiadori, Giovanni", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2007), LXIX, pp. 4-7.

Certainly there were conflicts. Typical contrasts, also seen elsewhere, between secular and regular clergy, especially focusing on ecclesiastical rights and on relations with faithful population, flanked disputes among friars, who were always competing for the best locations in towns. For example, in Pisa all four major Mendicant families had a long struggle with the Archbishop and the Cathedral Chapter.⁵⁷

However, the religious settlements were flexible, and this allowed for forms of convergence that were based upon an ability to fit into local realities. This is well demonstrated by the case of Pistoia. Here the idleness and, perhaps, the hostility of the pro-imperial Bishop Graziadio Berlinghieri (1222/23-50) slowed the consolidation of the Franciscan settlement up to 1250. Later however, the next *episcopus* Guidaloste Vergiolesi (1252-84) allowed the friars to move to a more appropriate site, and welcomed both the Dominicans and the *Serviti* who were coming to the city.⁵⁸ Moreover, even in Ghibelline Pisa, the first impact of the 'new religious' with the Episcopal Curia had been positive, and the Archbishop Federico Visconti (1254-77) wove praise of the Mendicants into his sermons, and proposed friars as models for his diocesan clergy.⁵⁹

On the other hand, we can see that as Benedictine Monasticism did not reject the urban dimension, similarly the Mendicants (excluding the Dominicans, who wanted to be close to existing universities (*studia*) or create new ones, which is why they preferred to settle in major centres) usually did not reject rural locations. The hermit component of the Franciscan and Augustinian Orders prove it; not to mention that the Mendicant apostolate made no conceptual distinction between the urban and rural faithful.

Urban society and the cities' ruling classes only offered the Cistercians protection, support and donations of land. For the Mendicants, instead, cities were the largest concentrations of souls that the reality of the time could offer. They were hotbeds of sin and basins of redemption, so it was logical and proper to be present in them. And whoever won in the cities and in the consciences of citizens had better luck than those who had tried

⁵⁷ Mauro Ronzani, "Gli Ordini mendicanti e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche preesistenti a Pisa nel Duecento", *Les Ordres Mendicants et la ville en Italie centrale* (v. 1220-v. 1350), pp. 667-677.

⁵⁸ Salvestrini, "Gli Ordini religiosi a Pistoia in età precomunale e comunale", pp. 260-261 and 263.

⁵⁹ Mauro Ronzani, "Una vocazione all'accoglienza: le filiali pisane di Ordini e congregazioni religiose tra la fine del secolo XI e il Trecento", *Pisa crocevia di uomini, lingue e culture. L'età medievale*, ed. by Lucia Battaglia Ricci and Roberta Cella (Rome: Aracne, 2009), pp. 61-80.

to find a way of their own and common salvation in contemplation. On the other hand, the active collaboration of the ruling classes with the Mendicants was no longer just a matter of professional advice or for promoting economics-businesses, as it was with the Cistercians or the *Umiliati*. Religious orders like the Dominicans had effective tools, forged in the struggle against heresy, to strike and marginalise the most dangerous Ghibellines in Guelph towns,⁶⁰ to approach the new emerging classes through the creation and promotion of lay brotherhoods, and to help people and urban regimes to renew city politics.

Furthermore, we must remember that the major Orders, such as the Franciscans, encouraged much of the public assistance, increasing the regular contributions donated to managing hospitals for the sick and hospices for pilgrims. There were also religious families that focused on the needy, such as the *Giamboniti*, who in 1237 (before being absorbed by the Augustinians) replaced the Franciscans in the Florentine hospital of San Gallo with the support of the Pope and the local Bishop.⁶¹ Next, we must mention the commitment of the Mendicants to helping that particular class of the needy who the dynamics of business had abruptly moved from wealth to poverty (*poveri vergognosi*). For example, the friars later established the *Monti di Pietà*, pawnshops that served an important role in curtailing usury.⁶²

Franciscans and Dominicans became protagonists of urban culture, something Benedictines almost never did.⁶³ They opened their *studia* (*generalia, provincialia, particularia*) to outside scholars and pupils (both

⁶⁰ On connections between heresy and Ghibellinism, see Federico Canaccini, *Ghibellini e ghibellinismo in Toscana da Montaperti a Campaldino (1260-1280)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2009), pp. 180-188, especially, pp. 200-215.

⁶¹ Luigi Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istruzione elementare gratuita della città di Firenze* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1853), pp. 659-663; Benvenuti, "Ordini mendicanti in Toscana (secc. XIII-XV): un problema ancora aperto", pp. 11-12.

⁶² Giacomo Todeschini, *La ricchezza degli Ebrei. Merci e denaro nella riflessione ebraica e nella definizione cristiana dell'usura alla fine del Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989), pp. 124-129, 133 and 155-180. For Florence, see Marino Ciardini, *I banchieri Ebrei in Firenze nel secolo XV e il Monte di Pietà fondato da Girolamo Savonarola. Appunti di storia economica con appendice di documenti* (Borgo San Lorenzo: Tip. Mazzocchi, 1907), pp. 61-67, 74-79 and 89-103.

⁶³ The school of the Vallumbrosan monastery of Santa Trinita in Florence is of interest (Salvestrini, 'Forme della presenza').

religious and lay).⁶⁴ They added investigation and systematic theology to their direct communications with the faithful, using words and gestures in their preaching, as well as 'educational' works of art, such as the fresco cycles that decorated the aisles of their large churches. Finally, they resorted to the religious, moralistic and parenthetical theatre of the *Sacre rappresentazioni*.⁶⁵

Mendicant Orders were able to interpret the need for new standards and new forms of protection expressed by a heterogeneous population, largely from rural areas, that was concentrated in the poorer and newer districts of the towns. The friars met the aspirations of a recently-urbanised middle class of artisans and merchants. In the confraternal proposals of the religious brothers (*milites Christi*, *milites Virginis*), this new class was able to experience an effective association system which became an alternative to the noblemen's societies.

I will conclude this necessarily brief paper with some historiographical considerations. Research on Benedictine and Mendicant settlements in Tuscany has made significant progress during the last thirty years. Furthermore, Italian studies on the regular clergy have emerged from the cloisters and the monopoly of religious families in which they had been held for centuries. Important works have greatly furthered the research into Benedictine Monasticism, and illuminated the world of Mendicants from the point of view of the history of holiness, of anthropology, and the history of art and architecture. Perhaps the time has come for us to emphasise comparative analyses and conduct further considerations on the impact of the Black Monks on the urban milieu, focusing attention, for example, on little known monastic preaching, and the Benedictine contribution to the delineation of local cults, which are profound issues especially for Mendicants.

Through new projects that combine researches on Benedictines with studies on Mendicant *religiones novae* it will be possible to come to a better understanding of the issues concerning relations among popular religion, ecclesiastical institutions, communal rules and urban society during the Middle Ages.

⁶⁴ *Le scuole degli Ordini mendicanti (sec. XIII-sec. XIV)* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1978).

⁶⁵ *Il Francescanesimo e il teatro medievale* (Castelfiorentino: Società Storica della Valdelsa, 1984); Cesare Vasoli, "Lo studio generale dell'Ordine, crocevia di idee", *Santa Croce nel solco della storia*, pp. 45-66.